



THE ASSESSMENTS OF SIPRI

In 2001, Ukrainian Centre for Economic and Political Studies named after Olexander Razumkov began publishing a Ukrainian edition of SIPRI Yearbook: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security. Since 1993 the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO) of the Russian Academy of Sciences has published a Russian edition of the Yearbook, and in 2000 the China Institute of International Studies (CIIIS), Beijing, published the first Chinese edition. Now, the materials of this popular international publication become more accessible for Ukrainian readers and experts in governmental and public structures.

The current, 31st issue of the SIPRI Yearbook presents informational and analytical materials of studies performed by the Institute with the purpose of encouraging publicity and transparency in the fields of arms control, disarmament and international security. The results of the studies were summed up in three directions: conflicts, conflict prevention and regional security; military expenditure, production and transfers of arms; weapons of mass destruction, non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament, presented in relevant sections of the books. Each of these sections contains materials dealing with Ukraine.

Security and conflicts in 1999

Politically, Ukraine is characterised in a dual fashion. On the one hand, the collapse of economic reforms prevents it from occupying a decent place in the world community, endangers its independence and orientation to building developed democratic society. On the other hand, despite all that, Ukraine actively participates in peacekeeping activities and is making a noticeable contribution to the world peace and security.

In 1999, Ukraine took part in many peacekeeping operations: five — under the auspices of the UN; six — OSCE; two — NATO; and one — jointly with Russia and other CIS countries. The geography of its involvement was rather broad: South-Eastern and Eastern Europe, Africa, and Central Asia.

Ukraine has been and remains an adherent of the policy of prevention, management and resolution of conflicts in Europe by means of OSCE, ahead of the CIS countries pushed by Russia. In recognition of such its position, NATO and the EU are building distinctive relations with Ukraine in the fields of foreign policy, security and defence within the framework of PfP and EAPC.

Military spending and armaments in 1999

The SIPRI Yearbook 2000 devotes much attention to economic and military-technical aspects of strengthening international security. The volume presents data on expenses on the maintenance of armed forces, production of arms, export-import operations in separate regions and countries of the world.

As for military expenditure, the Yearbook focuses on the countries that (a) are assumed as present or potential centres of power; (b) are or may be hotbeds of conflicts; (c) are located in conflict areas and may be directly involved into conflicts. Ukraine does not fall under any of those categories, so it is mentioned in passing only.

By the indicator of the share of military expenditure in GDP, Ukraine (3.6%) surpasses the USA and Russia (3.2% each). However, in absolute terms of expenses in US dollars (according to SIPRI — \$1.38 billion) it yields to such countries as Taiwan (close to \$5 billion) and Myanmar (nearly \$3 billion), although they spend a comparable or smaller share of their GDP (3.5% and 3.1%, respectively) for their defence.

SIPRI places Ukraine among the world's leading arms exporters. By the total amount of arms supplied during five years (\$2,048 million in 1995-1999), it took the eighth place for the second year in a row, falling right behind China (\$2,212 million). It is worth noting that Ukraine's arms exports are increasing by \$60-100 million a year, while in China, they are falling by approximately \$180 million annually. This has allowed Ukraine to take the seventh place in the rating of the world leading arms exporters by the results of 1999.

Ukraine faces tough competition in its most sensitive export branch — tank exports. The main competitors of Ukraine in 1999 were France, Germany, Russia, Great Britain and the U.S., which competed with it for the right to supply armour to Greece and Turkey.

The list of weapons offered by Ukraine on the world arms market includes tanks, landing craft, transport aircraft, helicopters, air-to-air missiles, etc. In 1999, Ukrainian weapons were supplied to Greece, Pakistan, India, Sierra Leone and Sri Lanka. Given the difficult economic situation in the country and tough competition on foreign markets, Ukraine has been forced to search for markets for its armaments in Asia, Africa and South America, located in potential conflict areas, and may be subject to sanctions under arms control regimes. Ukraine's competitors gamble on that for its discreditation, as was the case with the misinformation spread about alleged deliveries of Ukrainian arms to UNITA rebels.

The existing discrepancies between the official data on arms deliveries and the registered data of their receipt (especially in "hot" spots) arouse suspicion as to the uncontrolled proliferation of arms. The situation is aggravated by an insufficient level of arms export control and transparency of that process in some countries. By the way, the official data of Ukraine's Government on arms exports appeared in the SIPRI database only once, for 1997.

Non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament

The SIPRI Yearbook 2000 points to rather constructive role of Ukraine in the field of non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament. Ukraine is a member of all basic agreements in that area. It became a non-nuclear state and is completing elimination of the remainder of the strategic offensive weapons left on its territory after the collapse of the former Soviet Union. SIPRI assessments do not take due account of that process, since they count military hardware that has already been destroyed or transferred to Russia. For instance, Tables 8.1 and 8A.2 of the SIPRI Yearbook 2000 report about the presence in Ukraine in 1999 of 59 strategic nuclear arms delivery vehicles (including 41 Tu-95 and Tu-160 strategic bombers), 526 intercontinental ballistic missiles, and 270 submarine-launched ballistic missiles.

Ukraine is strictly observing its commitments to conventional arms reduction: in 1999, it was to dispose of 679 weapon systems, including 158 tanks, 369 armoured combat vehicles (ACV), 152 artillery pieces. Under the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, it is subject to the following territorial (and national) limits of conventional arms: 4,080 tanks, 5,050 ACVs, 4,040 artillery pieces, 1,090 aircraft, and 330 helicopters. Furthermore, according to flank limitations, Ukraine (as well as Russia) has one territorial sub-level in the Odesa region: 400 tanks, 400 ACVs and 350 artillery pieces. Outside the flank zone, Ukraine may temporarily deploy up to three brigades.

Ukraine stands for a balanced process of conventional arms reduction in Europe. It hailed NATO's initiative of abstaining from the deployment of additional forces on the territory of new members of the Alliance. Jointly with Germany, Belarus, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, Ukraine initiated putting aside mechanisms for progressive revision of territorial limits.

The effectiveness of the process of conventional arms reduction in Europe is backed up with the proper monitoring mechanism. Annual inspections are held on the territories of states — parties to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, covering up to 20% of all controllable sites. Besides, Ukraine is obliged to accept one additional inspection on the territory of the Odesa region. The effectiveness of monitoring is to be encouraged by events held within the framework of the Open Sky Treaty. However, that Treaty formally lapsed in 1999, because it was not ratified by Belarus, Russia and Ukraine. Ukraine's Parliament ratified the Treaty on March 2, 2000.

Ukraine is a party to four out of five multilateral regimes of arms and technology exports control: Zanger Committee; Nuclear Suppliers Group; Missile Technology Control Regime; Wassenaar Arrangements. Ukraine does not take part in the work of the Australian Group.

The SIPRI Yearbook 2000 points to the negative position of Ukraine that jointly with Russia objected to exchanges of information on conventional arms within the framework of the Wassenaar Arrangements. "Along with other states opposing one or more of the proposals this was sufficient to block any progress in the further development of the general information exchange for conventional arms". It also stated that "Ukraine, after following a policy of enhanced cooperation with international regimes over the past few years, is also ambivalent about further transparency measures in the area of conventional arms transfers".

In general, international experts view Ukraine's contribution to the creation of a system of global and regional (European) security positively and pay tribute to its successes on the arms markets. At the same time, the facts mentioned above should encourage Ukraine's leadership to strengthen the system of arms export control and search for the balance between secrecy and transparency in that process.

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